

# History and Educational Argument. History, Education and History of Education in the Crisis of the First Modernity

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**ABSTRACT:** In the background of Rationalism and in the course of Modernity, history, as a discourse, rationality, memory and «master of life», and education, as a rational order of present and regarding to construct the future, met each other. History constitutes the foundation, condition and meaning behind education. Education was at the basis of Modernity. History is a retrospective vision of the process and the degree of development that humanity has achieved. Education encompasses conduction and transformation. The crisis and break away from the scholastic, in the transition from the first Modernity, are correlatives of the affirmation of history as a subject, with a discourse, a method and a curricular status. One century later, at the end of XIX century, history and education met each other as history of education and educational argument for a re-elaboration of memory-experience, with a projective sense. Thinking out education with history has conferred the historian and historiographical (in)formation an irreplaceable position and a contribution in the equation of the present. I propose to document these ideas, with a European view and including a reference to the Portuguese case.

**EET/TEE KEYWORDS:** History; History of education; Educational argument; XIX<sup>th</sup> Century.

## *History and education – the Modernity binomial*

In the background of 18<sup>th</sup> century Rationalism and throughout the course of Modernity, education and history came together and were developed in a basically epistemic and procedural framework. History maintains its prerogatives of inquiry about human reasoning and deeds, discourse, experience,

collective memory and «master of life». At the same time, education remained as the present rational and order, and as the construction of the future, on the individual, socio-community and humanitarian level.

The centrality of the concept of the social contract, which incorporates natural evolution and cultural evolution, civilizing progress, the perfecting of humanity, tightened the bond between history and education. Education is at the basis of Modernity. In its social, political, biographical, hagiographical, prosopographical facets, history began to constitute a foundation, condition and meaning for education. In Kant's (1724-1804), acceptance of the human condition, it is based on a *bildung* that incorporates discipline and culture in the human subjects, which becomes preventive and ensures prudence and a morality. History is a retrospective vision of the process and the degree of development that mankind has attained; in Condorcet's (1743-1794) acceptance it safeguards a guarantee of the future. But history also, in Fichte's (1776-1841), perspective, provides a limit and a meaning for education and for human and social evolution. Education incorporates moving forward and transformation, history enables the discovery of the evolutionary meaning of humanity and simultaneously brings the guarantee of future, documenting and presenting the past under the modality of process.

One century later, in Dewey's (1859-1952) thinking, history and education are also a condition of the present. According to him, the educational present corresponds to the reconstruction of experience, which results in clarification of education's meaning, and strengthens the aptitude of the subject and human society to steer the course of future experiences. Present action, education is a reworking of memory-experience, with a projective meaning. Benedict Croce (1860-1952) has remembered that history is *magistra vitae* because it irrupts from the present and unifies the past with the contemporaneous interests.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century discourse, in overcoming the stories of heroes, saints and personalities, the History of the nations, the political regimes, the social and cultural processes and the ways of thinking, what was constituted as material was discourse, meaning and rationality for Education. History made itself education. The historiographic discourse continued to accommodate different versions: Past news, memories, chronicles, historical narratives. Within the scope of the state school proto-systems, namely the Prussian, Portuguese and French models, history, written and spoken in vernacular became the basis for a rationality of change and the root of the Nations-States. Ordered chronologically, history emerged geared towards patriotic integration, identity and trumpeting.

As the root and justification of the nations' constitutive process, the historical narrative gave meaning and sequence to human and material progress, and enshrined the geography. As an erudite formula and rhetorical exercise, it served the recreation, the apprenticeship and the perfecting of lettered education, in different forums of memorisation and sociability. As a

model and *magistra vitae* it integrated the school curriculum, ensuring civic and patriotic initiation. As information and recreation of experience, history became part of the standard training of teachers, namely one of the subjects that were included in the teacher training Seminar which functioned in Vienna, from 1771 onward.

The crisis and the rupture with scholasticism, in the transition from the first Modernity, were correlatives of affirmation of history as a subject, with a discourse, a method and a curricular status. In the educational present, the past and the future cross paths. In the long Modernity that began with the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, thinking education with history elevated the historian and the historiographic training (information) to an irreplaceable position and contribution in the equation of the present. The Enlightenment put history at the basis of educational reason.

The Enlightenment put history at the basis of educational reason, bringing historical education and the history of education together. This was the genesis of the history of education even if the history of ideas about education and the history of education itself had not arisen simultaneously, or evolved at the same pace. In the pedagogical framework of Jean-Frederic Herbart (1776-1841), history, as information of a civic and patriotic recreation, became part of the general pedagogical system.

### *History in education*

In the discourse of the *Ancient Régime*, history was construed as a prolegomenon, method and argument. Francis Bacon (1561-1626) carried out an analysis of the scientific system and recognised that «Histories make men Wise; Poets Witty; The Mathematics Subtle; Natural Philosophy deep; Moral Grave; Logic and Rhetoric able to Contend»<sup>1</sup>. A contemporary of Bacon's, René Descartes (1596-1650), recognised that history was an appeal to the spirit. In making the prevalence of the present as the sustenance of truth «I think, therefore I am – the first principle of philosophy that I searched for»<sup>2</sup>, Descartes analysed and registered the progress of his own thinking as an explanatory process. Likewise, referring to algebra, he distinguished the «analysis of the old to the algebra of the modern»<sup>3</sup>. Upon publication in 1689 of his *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, John Locke (1623-1704) referred to the strength of conviction of historical truth: «I would not be thought here to

<sup>1</sup> F. Bacon, *Essais*, Paris, Aubier, Éditions Montaigne, 1939, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> R. Descartes, *Discurso do Método. As Paixões da Alma*, Lisboa, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1992, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

lessen the credit and use of *history*: 'tis all the light we have in many cases; and we receive from it a great part of the useful truths we have, with convincing evidence»<sup>4</sup>.

Giambatista Vico (1668-1744), in classifying as undeniable the principle that «the world of nations was certainly made by men, hence the reason behind it must be found within the modifications of our own human mind»<sup>5</sup>, made the teaching of history inevitable, including to children.

In the book *Compêndio Histórico do Estado da Universidade de Coimbra* [Historical Compendium of the State of Coimbra University], written in 1771, and which served as a backup for the *Marquês de Pombal* Reform of that University, the significance of History in education was recognised, namely in the education of Theologians and the training of Magistrates:

There is no kind of History, be it Sacred or Secular, be it Natural or Civil, be it Literature of Philosophical, that cannot be recognised as being useful and necessary to Theology because they all shed admirable light to prove and illustrate the Theological issues [...]. Science of a Theology comprises two things: first, and mainly, deep knowledge of the doctrine of the scriptures in each point of Theology: second, being instructed in Tradition, which is the infallible rule to understand the true meaning of the scripture, because Tradition equally contains Revelation of many truths, which were not written in the Divine Books<sup>6</sup>.

The method «that many skilful Theologians used to explain Theology [...] was to deal with it in the same way as History»<sup>7</sup>. In the mentioned *Compêndio Histórico*, the virtues of the historical method were thus summarised:

And in truth those who intelligently weigh up the utility of the same method will certainly realise it is the most suitable way to fully expose the light of the Doctrine of the Church, and to defeat the errors of alternative means: Indeed, who would have such a lack of reason that they do not recognise the truth of a Doctrine, that can see through certain proofs, and incontestable facts, the origin of the same God, and persist always consistent and invariable in the Church, and universally taught by the Shepherds, Doctors and all the Centuries, and all time?<sup>8</sup>

Likewise, the authors of the same *Compêndio Histórico do Estado da Universidade de Coimbra*, sought to illustrate and show that Literary History is «an indispensable aid for the jurist»<sup>9</sup>. Multiple allegations were brought fourth to argue this case:

<sup>4</sup> J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, London, Penguin Books, 2004, p. 586.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Gardiner, *Teorias da História*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1995, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Compêndio Histórico do Estado da Universidade de Coimbra* (1771), Coimbra, Por Ordem da Universidade, 1972, pp. 117-118.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

For so many, and such multiplicity of advantages, the Literary History of Jurisprudence is generally reputed to be one of the foremost Subjects of the Study of Law. No Writer of good taste fails to grasp it as such. For this reason it has proudly occupied the quills of many Authors, who have worked with it to facilitate their Study, publishing Institutions, and Compendiums of one and other Jurisprudence, some of them very specific, and extremely profitable for the School lessons. And not content only with having enriched the Republic of Letters with these useful compositions, they also began to pen Libraries, Biographies, Weighty Dictionaries, Dissertations and Programmes, aimed at persuading this useful Study, and prescribing the fair limits, so as not to degenerate into abusive redundancy<sup>10</sup>.

With the Reform of Coimbra University, most of the subjects started to be introduced through the genealogy of the process of constitution and the evolution of the main methodical guidelines. History became a regular subject in the Curriculum of Colleges of Lower Studies. Hence, at the Royal College of Alcobaça, of the Congregation of S. Bernardo, which played an essential role in drawing up the History of Portugal, the programme of this subject commenced as follows:

Universal History, this Master of Life, justly reputed by the faculty, that entertains and uses the most profitable Men, is a study that is of incomparable interest to Mankind, and towards which all the application that could be established in our Royal College of Alcobaça would be small<sup>11</sup>.

On the pedagogical side, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) countered the historical perspective to the experimentalism of the physical sciences and took history as the critical and unbiased judge. Rousseau intended to instruct Émile through principles, without falling into a metaphysical arguments that the latter would not be prepared to understand; or without mixing lessons «qui ressemblent à des leçons, de substituer dans son esprit l'expérience et l'autorité du maître à sa propre expérience et au progrès de sa raison»<sup>12</sup>. To free himself simultaneously from these two obstacles and to appeal to the human heart without destroying it, he proposed «lui montrer les hommes au loin, les lui montrer dans d'autres tems ou dans d'autres lieux, et de sorte qu'il put voir la scène sans jamais y pouvoir agir»<sup>13</sup>. Thus, it is, concluded Rousseau, history's moment. It is through history that Émile would read into the hearts without the lessons of philosophy. And man would become a «simple spectateur, sans interest et sans passion, comme leur juge, non comme leur complice, ni comme leur accusateur»<sup>14</sup>. As such, Rousseau advanced that history should not restrict itself to the wars and injustices.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>11</sup> *Regulations of the Schools of the College of Alcobaça*, s.e., 1776, p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> J.-J. Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'Éducation*, Paris, Gallimard, 1969, p. 362.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

The curricular reorganisation of the French schools, brought about at the end of the *Ancient Régime*, included broadening the teaching of History, above all the History of France. This happened in the *Colégio Louis-le-Grand*, where from 1769 onwards it became compulsory to have half an hour of History study on public holidays – Sundays and festival days, and at the *Colégio de Arras*<sup>15</sup>. Philosophical history attracted readers, but the discursive and intellectual content was too modern to be taught. The teaching continued to focus essentially on chronology, associated to geography, but history was no longer taught merely as a complement of the classical subjects.

Kant took the Enlightenment as the path and possibility of a history of mankind and commitment among successive generations. In the lessons on Pedagogy, collected in 1803, he made an express observation on the importance of history in education, so long as it did not become an extra burden for the memory:

Hasta ahora no se há encontrado todavia ninguno a propósito para la historia; se han ensayado unas tablas; sin embargo, parece que no dan buenos resultados. La historia es un excelente médio para ejercitar en el juicio al entendimiento<sup>16</sup>.

Heavily influenced by the universality of history, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) established the pre-eminence of mankind's living forces as «springs of human history» and stated the principle of the variety and individuality owed to each nation. In his opinion, the evolution of humanity will lead to the fruition of all that is wise and good, but history unlocks the reasoning and justice of other eras.

History gathers together everything that is linked to the human sciences. Condorcet (1743-1794), the author of an essay on the evolution of the Human Spirit, suggests that history should be part of common instruction and should be taught from the second level of education. The syllabus of this level of education comprised two components: common instruction and teaching through subjects, whereby the former involved the most basic knowledge that was accessible to the intelligence «la plus ordinaire»<sup>17</sup>. In common instruction, history was simplified to the «des éléments d'histoire»<sup>18</sup> linked to elements of geography. Lasting four years, the science components would be taught separately, with each one entrusted to its particular master and distributed as follows:

<sup>15</sup> F. Furet, *A Oficina da História*, Lisboa, Gradiva, s.d., p. 117.

<sup>16</sup> E. Kant, *Pedagogia*, Madrid, Akal, 1983, p. 64.

<sup>17</sup> M. Condorcet, *Cinq Mémoires sur l'Instruction Publique*, Paris, Flammarion, 1994, p. 133.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

Les sciences morales et politiques, les sciences physiques fondées sur l'observation et l'expérience, les mathématiques et les parties des sciences physiques fondées le calcul; enfin l'histoire et la géographie politique, qu'on pourrait confier à un maître qui en même temps enseignerait la grammaire et l'art d'exprimer ses idées<sup>19</sup>.

Concluding that the knowledge contained in history accounts and geography was acquired more effectively through reading, Condorcet believed that the explanation should be backed up by presenting, in chronological order, each epoch and the distribution of mankind around the globe, their status, their divisions and the names of the men who had had the biggest influence. This empirical information would pave the way for the learner to access a philosophy of history:

En apprenant ainsi à ordonner, soit dans le temps, soit dans l'espace, les faits et les observations de tout genre qui nous ont été transmis, on s'habituerait à en saisir les liaisons et les rapports, et on saurait se créer pour soi-même la philosophie de l'histoire à mesure que dans la suite on en étudierait les détails<sup>20</sup>.

The subject of History began to incorporate the curricular system with substantive and educational aims. Jean-Frederic Herbart, who believed that the education of citizens was a responsibility of the State and adapted the school education system to the growth cycles of children and adolescents, attributed history second place in the system of school subjects, straight after religion, which was itself taught using the historical method. In childhood, the curricular method was stories, which in adolescence gave way to history. In the third phase of childhood, the youth would move into adulthood, observing the retreating of "government" in place of "discipline". Often, according to Herbart's presupposition, the youth «peut et doit intervenir, pour établir l'ordre dans la société des enfants, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les liaisons volontaires, les considérations personnelles, et même les usurpations de pouvoir, qu'on voit assez fréquemment dans leur société»<sup>21</sup>. At this age the essential aspect is to teach, which should prevent ideas from starting to circulate prematurely. Among the teaching material is poetry and history,

sur lesquelles l'enseignement doit s'appuyer, pour former les idées morales. L'idée de la bienveillance nous amène à la nécessité de l'éducation religieuse; or, la religion repose sur des histoires, il faut donc également enseigner l'histoire sainte, comme faisant partie de l'enseignement historique<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Condorcet, *Cinq Mémoires sur l'Instruction Publique*, cit., p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>21</sup> L. Gockler, *La Pédagogie de Herbart*, Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1903, p. 264.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*, *La Pédagogie de Herbart*, cit., p. 265.

History «doit être le précepteur de l'humanité et s'il n'en est pas ainsi, la faute en est en grande partie aux maîtres qui l'enseignent à la jeunesse»<sup>23</sup>. But, for history to be educational, Herbart explained that, both in the teaching of general history, and in the specific teaching, there should be less emphasis on knowledge of wars than «donner une base à l'édifice de l'histoire; par exemple, pour le moyen âge, il faudrait soigneusement mettre en lumière et expliquer l'islamisme, la papauté, l'empire et la féodalité, et ainsi de suite»<sup>24</sup>. The system of subjects proposed by Herbart should be uniform in all schools, although the teaching could vary. In addition to those two subjects, such a system should include: mathematics and natural sciences; geography; languages.

### *History in the transition from Ancient Régime*

In the transition from *Ancient Régime* history served as the argument for decision making, the interruption and reform of processes, movements and trends. History was the condition to distinguish the old from the modern. The status of history varied and took on different configurations: tradition, grounds for change, reform. Nearer the legal process, it was common to use historiographic ordering to update polemics and prepare the ground for the decision. Reinitiated and reviewed in different historical cycles, the opposition between the Old and the Modern was evident in the transition from *Ancient Régime*, whereby the methodical combination of analysis, deduction and induction, undertaken on the genealogy, enabled the distinction between tradition and antiquity. The tradition and the Old, although part of the same hemisphere, were now characterised and viewed in different ways. Tradition focused on what was prolonged over time in a continuous and uniform way. On the other hand, the discourse and the evolution of the Old were firmly referenced in specific periods. Submitted to a chronological deduction, very often periods were dealt with whose evolution resulted in decadence or depression in contrast to expectations and to the background in which these expectations had been legitimate. It was in view of the Old and not to go against tradition that, throughout the course of Modernity, the Modern define and arrange themselves as the bearers of change. Underlying the change was the updating of tradition, but not its disappearance.

Tradition would be enlightened through information and through transmission. Fontenelle (1657-1757), in his *Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes* (1688), proclaimed that the evolution of mankind was explained by the influence of the Old on the Modern, given that, where possible, the latter learns from the former:

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



La facilité qu'ont les esprits à se former les uns sur les autres, fait que les peuples ne conservent pas l'esprit original qu'ils tireraient de leur climat. La lecture des livres grecs produit en nous le même effet à proportion que si nous n'épousions que des Grecques à [...]. Afin que les Modernes puissent toujours enchérir sur les Anciens, il faut que les choses soient d'une espèce à le permettre. [...] Un bon esprit cultivé est, pour ainsi dire, composé de tous les esprits des siècles précédents; ce n'est qu'un même esprit qui s'est cultivé pendant tout ce temps-là<sup>25</sup>.

Giambattista Vico classified as undeniable the principle that the world and the nations were made by men. Kant viewed the Enlightenment as the path and the possibility to enable

the history of mankind, as a whole, [to be viewed] as the undertaking of a hidden plan of nature, in order to establish an internally perfect political constitution – and, in pursuit of this goal, perfect also from the external point of view, as this is the only way that nature can fully develop all of humanity's inclinations<sup>26</sup>.

Such a desire contains a commitment between the States and elucidated men, whereby the latter influence the governing principles of the former. Therefore, the writing of history should not only take into account the *empíria* but should also accommodate the idea of universal history. Kant made the distinction between erudite history, owed to the *antiquii*, and philosophical history. In 1784, asking himself whether his own time was an 'époque éclairée', he answered: «non! Mais bien [...] une époque d'*accession aux Lumières*»<sup>27</sup>. In publishing the essay entitled *Idée d'une Histoire Universelle au Point de Vue Cosmopolitique* in the same year of 1784, Kant introduced the notion of a history of humanity geared towards the present, which would not be satisfied by:

chanter la magnificence et la sagesse de la création dans le domaine de la nature où la raison est absente [admitia assim] qu'une tête philosophique (qui, para ailleurs, devrait être très avertie des problèmes historiques) pourrait encore tenter de faire en se plaçant à un autre point de vue: En outre la minutie, louable sans doute, avec laquelle on rédige à présent l'histoire contemporaine, doit malgré tout faire naître naturellement en chacun une inquiétude: celle de savoir comment nos descendants éloignés s'y prendront pour soulever le fardeau de l'histoire que nous pourrions leur laisser d'ici quelques siècles<sup>28</sup>.

Incorporation of tradition was the characteristic of the Nation States that arose out of the transition from *Ancient Régime* as a process bringing together and harmonising a nationalist conscience and to enroot a mother tongue. History allowed tradition to be salvaged and the construction of the new, which emerged as a counterpoint, legitimised by the belief in progress

<sup>25</sup> M. Fumaroli, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, Paris, Gallimard, 2001, pp. 297, 301, 307.

<sup>26</sup> Gardiner, *Teorias da História*, cit., p. 37.

<sup>27</sup> E. Kant, *Qu'Est-ce que les Lumières?*, Paris, Hatier, 2007, p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Id., *Opuscules sur l'Histoire*, Paris, Flammarion, 1990, pp. 88-89.

and development. The notion of future, resulting from reforms or the fruit of revolutionary transformations was associated with the new.

Herder made a history of nations possible, in arguing as a universal law of history that [...] everywhere on earth, everything happens that can happen, partly in line with the situation and the needs of the place, partly in line with the natural or acquired character of the people. [...] Times, places, national characters – to sum up the combined action of the living forces in their most specific individualities – alone are what lie behind all the events that occur in the kingdom of men, in the same way as they decide the phenomena of nature<sup>29</sup>.

Centring history on the human gave rise to an inevitability of events, within certain national, temporal and local circumstances and dictated that «the history of humanity is nothing more than a natural history of forces, of actions and of human trends, subordinated to the place and epoch»<sup>30</sup>.

Meanwhile, according to the French revolutionaries, history went beyond the national genealogy and constituted a general framework and meaning for evolution, accommodating change and containing a social dimension. Alexis Tocqueville (1805-1859) who, seven years after the French Revolution, travelled through the United States of America to recognise historical evolution, did not fail to register new matters. Among these, his attention was especially attracted to a completely new subject: the equality of conditions<sup>31</sup>. Consequently, a change was taking place in the United States in the relationship between the governors and the governed:

Instruire la démocratie, ranimer s'il se peut ses croyances, purifier ses mœurs, régler ses mouvements, substituer peu à peu la science des affaires à son inexpérience, la connaissance de ses vrais intérêts à ses aveugles instincts; adapter son gouvernement aux temps et aux lieux; le modifier suivant les circonstances et les hommes: tel est le premier des devoirs imposé de nos jours à ceux qui dirigent la société. Il faut une science politique nouvelle à un monde tout nouveau<sup>32</sup>.

With the first liberal and romantic generation, the taught history was to be national, traditionalist, ethnic, linguistic and genealogical. The controversy surrounding a teachable version, representing the collective memory, was accompanied by policies tending towards preservation and cataloguing of archived heritage, as well as the dissemination of social theories of national scope. It was up to the liberal regimes to establish a nationalistic historical and patriotic version, and through instruction to make it a joint vision, geared

<sup>29</sup> Gardiner, *Teorias da História*, cit., p. 43.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>31</sup> A. Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique. Les Grands Thèmes*, Paris, Gallimard, 1968, p. 23.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

towards social regeneration. In the positivist framework, history was used to aid the understanding and justification of the present. Comte (1798-1857) systematised the regulatory principles of the historical evolution:

The natural march of civilisation determines [...] for each epoch, without a shadow of doubt, the perfecting of the social status, both in its constituent aspects and as a whole. Only the former can be undertaken, and necessarily undertaken, with the aid of combinations made by philosophers and by men of State, or despite these combinations. [...] All men who exercise a real and lasting action on humankind [...] discovered, in each epoch, what changes had to be carried out, depending on the state of civilisation, and proclaimed them, proposing the doctrines or the corresponding institutions to their contemporaries<sup>33</sup>.

This present had become crucial for understanding and historiographic heuristics. History, as a social science, was converted into genealogy, causality and legitimisation of the transformations and the protagonists. As actors of the historical evolution, the protagonists saw their expectations and predictions facilitated and confirmed.

Likewise, for historical Materialism the transformation of the present derived from ordering an anticipated future, thus consecrating the principle that

the manner of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual life. It is not man's conscience that determines their existence. It is their social existence that determines their conscience. [...] The proletariat, the lowest level of today's society, cannot emerge and lift itself up until the whole structure of the layers that form the official society goes up in smoke<sup>34</sup>.

The republican regimes, focused on the forming of the citizen, took up the formation of the citizen again, conciliated erudite history with philosophical history and brought the taught history closer to the present history. Giving emphasis to the complexity of the present and giving science history precedence over memory-history, regressive method was often recommended in the teaching of history. Therefore, the teaching of history began a new cycle. Erudite history was the condition of truth, but was difficult to apply to the teaching. Philosophical, interpretative and synthetic history was favoured over teaching, but given the intellectual demands, it was difficult to adapt it to the students' capacity<sup>35</sup>.

Focussing on the present, such as understanding and experience, would favour heuristics, the induction of the past, but the challenge of the new pedagogical movements was geared towards intuitive teaching and the application of active methods. The written source and the archive, requisitioned by the positivist historiography and the erudite, contradicted, in terms of didactics,

<sup>33</sup> Gardiner, *Teorias da História*, cit., p. 101.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162-168.

<sup>35</sup> Furet, *A Oficina da História*, cit., pp. 109-135.

the ethnographical recreations and the historical-pedagogical museums. The formation of the citizen required experience centred on the national reality, but the humanitarian vision challenged a civilisational perspective.

### *The lesson of history – history and educational argument*

In his analyses on German historiography, Koselleck showed that the modern concept of history that emerged in Germany in the first decades of the second half of the eighteenth century conciliated examples and repetition, in contrast to History in the singular, open to the event which abandoned the notion of example. The French Revolution was also a tension between revolution and reaction<sup>36</sup> and between the experience of individuals and the horizon of expectation<sup>37</sup>. The historiographic discourse reinitiated the form of process, with an organised layout detailing the evolution of subjects, witnesses, argument and evolutionary meaning. Genealogy and chronology became the back-ups of narrative history. In the background of the enlightenment, science and consciousness integrated into the same act of thinking. History made this alliance possible and fed it. Rousseau in *Droit de la Guerre et de la Paix* looked to history for examples and a critical perspective that would regenerate the political systems. His book makes frequent references to Sparta, the Roman Republic, the Geneva Republic, the history of Poland. And in *Émile* he reiterated the education role of history:

Pour connoître les hommes, il faut les voir agir. Dans le monde on les entend parler; ils montrent leurs discours et cachent leurs actions; mais dans l'histoire elles sont dévoilées, et on les juge sur les faits. Leurs propos mêmes aident à les apprécier. Car comparant ce qu'ils font à ce qu'ils disent, on voit à la fois ce qu'ils sont et ce qu'ils veulent paroître; plus ils se déguisent, mieux on les connoît<sup>38</sup>.

Rousseau had reservations about valuing the historical as a model, which did not favour the direct incorporation of the historical models into pedagogy, even those through which humanity is instructed and abides by. However, in his comments and political theories, he introduced the forecasting component and celebrated:

à tourner les yeux sur ces venerables images de l'antiquité où je vois les h[ommes] élevés par de sublimes institutions au plus haut degré de grandeur et de vertu où puisse atteindre la sagesse humaine [...]. Si l'histoire a rarement le même avantage [de la poésie] elle en tire en revanche un plus grand effet et quand à l'image de la sagesse heureuse se joint le sacré

<sup>36</sup> R. Koselleck, *Le Futur Passé. Contribution à la Sémantique des Temps Historiques*, Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1990, pp. 31-35.

<sup>37</sup> F. Hartog, *Régimes d'Historicité. Présentisme et Expériences du Temps*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2003, p. 85.

<sup>38</sup> Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'Éducation*, cit., p. 362.

caractère de la vérité elle apprend aux hommes à respecter les décrets de la providence et donne aux cœurs droits et sensibles un nouveau courage à bien faire. L'histoire peut suppléer encore à ce qui manque à ses récits pour l'instruction des lecteurs en réunissant sous un même aspect les faits et les héros propres à s'éclairer mutuellement<sup>39</sup>.

History supplied the dimension, nature and progression of the natural, the social and the human. Having intensely experienced the convulsions of the French Revolution, the Marquis of Condorcet, given the instability and the diversity of political and economic solutions and the vulnerability of the social, left a historical summary of the evolution of the human spirit to posterity – *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*. The analysis of the human past enabled the understanding of the present and guidance for the future. It was this field and this place of human confluence that Kant translated into the desire for a «total political unification of the human species»<sup>40</sup>.

The eighteenth century witnessed the first systematic collections of historical and literary documentation and the compilation of national and society public libraries. History was a means and method for the intelligibility of individual memory and collective memory, for the comprehension and participation in human, civic, cultural, social, national action. The teaching of history ensured sociability and was a condition of national citizenship.

Collecting and documenting tradition and transforming it into a school curriculum, the Nation State schooled education and made instruction a constituting element of the Nation and instigator of a technology of the social. Making the Nation a State, unifying the civic and legal communication and standardising the school were the main movements of linguistic unification. The historical and linguistic tradition was the object of compilation and a policy of standardisation. The construction of history as a scientific narrative presented under the method of a legitimate discourse and supplied as information and the *episteme* of the modern man was assumed to be the essential basis of school culture. The history/ written culture binomial was extended to the discursive production and the school education as a whole.

With the crisis of the First Modernity, history became the basis of educational reason. The eighteenth-century intellectuals were also responsible for the first history of education treaties. Involved in dismembering the Scholastic, in the reform of the Lower Studies and University, as happened in the Portuguese case, in the formation of the Nation States, the eighteenth-century intellectuals, in contrasting tradition and change and drawing up plans for the progress of humanity, societies and individuals, wrote the first history of education treaties.

Involved in dismembering Scholastics, in reforming the Lower Studies and University, as happened in Portugal, and the formation of the Nation-States, the 18<sup>th</sup> century Intellectuals, contrasting tradition and change and summarising

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 360-361.

<sup>40</sup> E. Kant, *Opuscules sur l'Histoire*, Paris, Flammarion, 1990, p. 83.

evolution, drew up plans for the progress of humanity, societies and individuals. They wrote the first treaties of history of education. Education began to be distinguished in comparison to other facets of historical development, playing a role in the progress of society and of individuals, as shown in the works of Locke, Vico, Montesquieu (1689-1755), Rousseau, Condorcet and Rousseau. The reformers, among which was Ribeiro Sanches, a Portuguese doctor and philosopher, known to most of the European Courts and Academies of the time and an advisor of Pombal, and the philosophers, among which Kant, argued for the schooling of education. Politicians and men of action, such as Condorcet, revisited history by isolating the evolution of the Human Spirit and endowing it with hope and regeneration of the future, creating school projects, with integrated and evolutionary, humanistic, scientific and technical programmes.

The historical incursions of intellectuals and philosophers, among which were Montesquieu, Rousseau and Kant, tempered the pedagogical intuition of Pestalozzi who was sceptical as regards the possibility and convenience of schooling basic education. Fostered and guided by history, education, as a factor of moralisation and citizenship, conciliated the past, present and future. Education was the historiographic object and the teaching of history was an educational lesson. Gabriel Compayré (1843-1913) proclaimed so in peremptory fashion in the preface of *Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Education en France depuis le XVIe Siècle* (1879):

Le but de ce livre est d'exposer le mouvement et le progrès de la pédagogie française, depuis les brillants initiateurs du XVIe siècle jusqu'aux réformateurs contemporains. [...] Il y a quelque utilité à examiner l'histoire des systèmes, pour y chercher les vérités durables et y recueillir les éléments d'une théorie définitive<sup>41</sup>.

Compayré introduced the history of education as a matter for teaching education. Into the curriculum for teaching education the history of education, constituted by biographies, ideas, programmes, institutional narratives, assumed the function of information, laboratory and modelling.

Within the scope of the New School, the distinction between chronology-history and philosophy-history was reifying an active pedagogy centred on the learner and geared towards the training of the citizen. At the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, John Dewey proposed pedagogy to historicize the school experience as a condition of citizenship and Benedetto Croce admitted that the centrality of the present was a road to historical conscience. Upon publishing *Breve Interpretação da História de Portugal*, in 1929, António Sérgio (1883-1969), who fostered a controversy with the partisans regarding the emphasis given to chronological-history in secondary education, warned the reader that he had

<sup>41</sup> N. Charbonnel, *Pour une Critique de la Raison Éducative*, Berne-Francfort-New York-Paris, Peter Lang, 1988, p. 129.

drawn up an «interpretation of the history of our country»<sup>42</sup>. In line with this interpretation, he presented the reader with the theory-idea that the Portuguese formation and expansion were part of the same phenomenon «that reached its fullness in today's times»<sup>43</sup>. It is, he reiterated, the Discoveries that characterise the Portuguese as a truly historical people. And he goes on to say: «if one does not lose sight of this basic idea, and if this book is carefully read, perhaps it will help us to understand the past – and thereabouts (which is the most important thing) and nurture spirits that can construct the Future»<sup>44</sup>.

Hence, one can conclude within the framework of a reconstruction and interpretation of historiography of the transversal and the singular, open to humanity, centred on the human and geared towards education of the citizen, from the perspective of the present as experience and articulation between the past and future. Recovering the motivations and perspectives of the crises of the first Modernity, the search for an approach to history education geared towards the present has favoured the emergence of history as educational argument. Also we could comprove and illustrate an approximation into History Education and the History of Education.

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<sup>42</sup> A. Sérgio, *Breve Interpretação da História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1985.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Sérgio, *Breve Interpretação da História de Portugal*, cit., p. 1.

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